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Metropolitan Toronto and Metropolitan Istanbul:

A Comparison

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A Comparison

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A brief comparative study of the metropolitan governments of Istanbul and Toronto, and the challenges that face them.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper provides a brief comparison of the metropolitan governments of Istanbul and Toronto. It outlines only the key elements of each metropolitan government. These include municipal structure, municipal powers and obligations, financial framework (revenues by source and expenditures by function), intergovernmental relations, and policy-making processes.

The sections on Istanbul and Toronto begin with a description of their national context and highlight some social and economic facts on the city as background to the discussion of the respective metropolitan governments. An Appendix includes more detailed information on each government. A list of references available in English is also included for further information on both Istanbul and Toronto.

METROPOLITAN ISTANBUL

Turkey (*Türkiye* in Turkish) has a geopolitical situation that has influenced its government throughout its history. Turkey's geographic location as a land bridge linking Asia and Europe has determined its dramatic and eventful history for more than 2,500 years. Greeks, Persians, Romans and Byzantines have occupied its territory. The Turkish Ottoman Empire, whose power eventually extended over parts of Southeast Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, was founded in the thirteenth century by the consolidation of many Turkic tribes in Anatolia and Asia.

Following a gradual decline starting in the late seventeenth century, the Empire was dissolved shortly before the First World War. From the ruins of the First World War, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a new republic was created in 1923. The Turkish Republic, based on a parliamentary government system and an independent judiciary, adopted secular principles of government. Atatürk's ideas on government spawned 'Kemalism' in Turkey, a political philosophy that envisaged a sovereign republic governed by the modern principles of parliamentary government: the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. The legislative branch is the Grand National Assembly; the executive branch comprises the President (elected by the assembly), the Council of Ministers, and the Prime Minister. Kemalism, or the form of government it embodied, expressed strong centralism and statism with a mixed economy. This constitutional and economic model served the Republic well (with reasonable economic growth) until the end of the Second World War, which Turkey refused to enter. Yet, the decades since the end of the Second World War have been characterized by considerable political instability. The Constitution has

been suspended three times, most recently in 1980. The political instability has been accompanied by economic instability: the rate of economic growth and other indicators display a considerable decline in productivity despite a reasonable rate of industrialization.

Table 1
Key Statistics, Turkey

Population (1989)	55,541,000 (1989)
Population Projection (2000)	73,029,000 (2000)
Density	71.2 persons per square kilometer
Urban Population (1985)	45.9% (1985)
Ethnic Composition (1983)	Turkish 85.7% Kurdish 10.6% Arab 1.6% Other 1.2%
Major Metropolitan Areas (1985)	Istanbul 5,560,908 Ankara 2,235,035 Izmir 1,489,772 Adana 777,554 Bursa 612,510
Gross National Product (1987)	U.S. $1,200 per capita

Municipal Government in Turkey

Since 1982, Turkey has been governed under a new constitution. This constitution broadly reflects principles of Kemalism but allows for the creation of strong local government. Thus, since 1984, the Turkish Republic has been experimenting with a massive program of decentralization of both government and economy with institutions of local and metropolitan government. Some commentators described this decentralization as "Turkey's liberal revolution".

The Turkish Republic, however, is not without a history of local government. Although the Ottoman Empire did not originally have a formal, *administrative* tradition of local government, certain local government functions were exercised through local urban leadership with their connections to the *mahalle* (urban quarter) and to the crafts guilds and religious orders within the city. Moreover, during the nineteenth century the Empire was reorganized by

extending government to localities. In the 1850s, the first municipal institutions of a western type were introduced into the country in the largely non-moslem district of Beyoglu in Istanbul. This was the famous the *6th Arrondissement*, modeled after the Parisian municipal structure of the day. By and large local governmental institutions established during the latter half of the nineteenth century remained intact until the early years of the Republic.

The Republic established in 1923, therefore, inherited some form of local government—but limited and fragmented. In the 1920s, the newly founded Republic felt the need to reorganize local authorities on a nation-wide scale. In 1930, the fragments of local government were strengthened and reorganized by important legislation that was essentially a blend of Ottoman centralism and the centralist French municipal system (Municipal Law 1580). Under this system, which still governs the municipalities, the Republic is administered through 73 provinces and, in turn, are administered through some 816 districts. Parallel with the administrative organization of the Republic is a system of local government that encompasses provinces, urban municipalities, and villages. Municipalities are legal corporations created to provide specific services for localities whose policy-making organs are elected by the people. The revenue sources and powers to raise revenues are, however, restricted and the local government remains dependent upon the central government.

Yet, since the 1960s, Turkey has experienced rapid urban population growth, which reached almost 50 per cent in 1985 (it was 16.4 per cent in 1927 and 25.9 per cent in 1960). This has meant a considerable increase in demand for the provision of urban services for which local governments did not have adequate borrowing and spending powers. Urban problems in Turkey reached crisis proportions during the 1970s and the early 1980s. As a result, when the municipal elections in the major urban centres of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir were won by mayors who were members of a social democratic party (CHP). The central governments of the time tightened their control over the municipalities that were controlled by the rival political party. In reaction, some mayors began pressing for devolution instead of delegation. They based their claims on a kind of municipalism that mobilized considerable local support. This initiative was supported by some intellectuals on the left and by the newly established Association of Progressive Municipalities. This was the first movement in Turkey toward a municipal democracy. This movement was halted by the military coup in 1980; the Constitution was suspended until 1982.

The local government system in present-day Turkey has its legal roots in Article 127 of the Turkish Constitution of 1982, which defines local authorities as publi corporate bodies established to meet the common local needs of citizens of provinces, municipalities and villages. According to the same article, the

decision-making bodies of these authorities are to be elected by the people. It is that article which has provided the constitutional undepinning for the establishment of the metropolitan government system in Turkey.

The Motherland Party, which came to power in 1983, opted for a combination of political and administrative decentralization. Its leaders thought that devolving powers to the localities would both promote political democracy (and thus partly responding to the movement toward municipal democracy) and make delivering of more and better urban services possible. As a result, in an Act of 1984, metropolitan governments were introduced in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. These metropolitan governments were part of policy reforms that aimed at coping with the challenge of urban growth, and assigned priority to the devolution of responsibilities for key municipal services to municipal authorities. These reforms substantially increased the financial resources of municipal authorities, converted the national property tax into a municipal tax, and enabled municipal authorities to improve their revenue bases. The 1984 Act governs, among others, the upper-tier Municipality of Greater Istanbul.

Istanbul

Istanbul is the largest city and seaport of Turkey. It occupies a central place in Turkish history. Istanbul was formerly capital of the Byzantine Empire, and later, the Ottoman Empire. The old, walled city of Istanbul stands on a triangular peninsula between Europe and Asia. Sometimes as a bridge, sometimes as a barrier, Istanbul for more than 2,500 years has stood between conflicting surges of religion, culture and imperial power. For most of those years it was among the most coveted cities in the world.

The Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Istanbul has a population of 5.5 million. It is situated on both sides of the Bosphorus straits separating Asia from Europe, extending 80 kilometres from east to west and covering a total of 1,639 square kilometres.

Istanbul carried most of the burden of urbanization in Turkey after the Second World War. By 1980, 69 per cent of the Marmara Region, in which Greater Istanbul is located, was urbanized, but urbanization in other regions (including Ankara and Izmir) had not reached 50 per cent. Istanbul contains 40 per cent of industrial production but only 10 per cent of population in Turkey. With such *concentration* of population and resources, the main problems of the region have been the management of growth and the provision of services. It is against the background of these problems that metropolitan government became an attractive form of government.

Government of Metropolitan Istanbul

The Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Istanbul was created in 1984 by an act of the Grand National Assembly (Law 3030). The act created a two-tier metropolitan government system, legally establishing the Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Istanbul and 15 district municipalities. The Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Istanbul has the responsibility for carrying out metropolitan services. The district municipalities are responsible for local services. The Mayor of Istanbul, the District Mayors, and the District Councils are directly elected by the people.

Metropolitan Structure

The main organs of metropolitan government are: the Metropolitan Council, the Metropolitan Executive Committee, and the Metropolitan Mayor. Each district municipality has its own respective Municipal Council, Executive Committee, and Mayor.

The Metropolitan Council is the main policy-making body of the metropolitan area. It is composed of the Metropolitan Mayor, the District Mayors, and one fifth of the District Municipal Councillors (chosen among themselves). The Council is elected for a term of five years and has three ordinary sessions annually.

The Metropolitan Executive Committee is headed by the Metropolitan Mayor. It is composed of the Secretary-General of the metropolitan government, and the heads of certain departments specified by relevant legislation. The Metropolitan Mayor is elected by the people for a term of five years. He is the chief executive and co-ordinator for the metropolitan area and represents the metropolitan government. The Metropolitan Mayor is empowered to delegate some of his responsibilities and powers to the district mayors. The Metropolitan Mayor has veto power on all decisions taken by the metropolitan and district municipal councils. A council may overrule this veto only by a two-thirds majority vote.

The Secretary-General is the senior appointed official of the metropolitan government. He reports to the Metropolitan Mayor. The Secretary-General is assisted by four deputy secretaries-general appointed by the Metropolitan Mayor. The Secretary-General, directly or through his deputies, oversees the provision of municipal services by department heads, directors of main units, deputy directors, and employees, which together comprise the administrative structure of metropolitan government.

Municipal Powers and Responsibilities

Law 3030 sets out the division of responsibilities between the Metropolitan Municipality and the District Municipalities, as follows:

The Metropolitan Government:

* strategic planning of investments in major infrastructure;
* making master plans for the metropolitan area and ensuring that the implementation plans made by the district municipalities are in accordance with the master plan;
* co-ordination and provision of services related to transportation;
* establishment of recreational facilities and protection of the *environment*;
* provision of basic services related to sewerage, water supply, and heating;
* establishment and management of facilities related to enforcing sanitary requirements on food and beverages;
* solid waste management;
* conducting those 'economic activities the impact of which will be felt throughout the metropolitan area'.

District municipalities:

* construction and maintenance of streets other than major arteries;
* health and veterinary services;
* street cleaning and waste collection;
* supervision of prices and control of markets;
* specific environmental and public health controls;
* detailed land use planning;
* granting building permits; control of buildings.

By 1988, the introduction of municipal government in Istanbul appeared to have substantially increased the services provided.

Financial Framework

Law 3030 sets out the revenue sources of the Metropolitan Municipality as follows:

* shares (as determined by the National Government) of taxes assigned to the Metropolitan Municipalities by law;
* one per cent of the revenues collected by the central government within the Metropolitan Municipal Area;
* fifty per cent of the electricity and coal-gas consumption tax, and of the cleaning and lighting duty, at the rates set by the Municipal Revenues Act. The Act states that these services are to be furnished by the Metropolitan Municipality;
* contributions to be made by users to building roads, waterworks and sewage works;
* grants by the central government;
* revenues from securities and loans;
* donations;
* revenues from the Municipality's real estate and other property;
* revenues obtained for providing services;
* shares to be determined by the Metropolitan Municipal Council of the net profits of municipal economic enterprises.

By 1988, empirical studies began to report on the actual workings of the system of revenues. It seems that municipal revenues between 1984 and 1988 increased several fold.

Intergovernmental Relations

The intergovernmental relations of the Municipality of Greater Istanbul concern upper and lower tiers of government.

As mentioned, the Turkish Republic is divided into 73 provinces for administrative purposes. The Province of Istanbul is the immediate upper tier of government to which the Municipality of Greater Istanbul relates. However, provinces in the Turkish Republic, unlike Canada, are mere units of administration. They do not have powers to create or govern municipal corporations. They relate to municipalities only as instructed by the central government.

The central government has been, as mentioned above, historically very strong in Turkey, and municipalities remained under a heavy yoke until 1984. Although the 1984 reforms 'revolutionized' this relationship, municipal governments remain as subordinate and subject to control by the central government.

The relations of the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul with the district councils in Istanbul are more complicated. When the Motherland Party conceived the metropolitan government in Turkey, it was aware of the popular local base of Social Democrats (the rival party) and expected that local councils would be controlled by them. Accordingly, Law 3030 established strong metropolitan government and weaker district municipalities. But two events surprised the Motherland Party. First, Istanbul district councils comprised predominantly Motherland Party candidates. Second, district council mayors demonstrated tremendous energy, talent, and dynamism in managing local government. They demanded much greater responsibility in governing their jurisdictions.

However, the local elections in 1989 dramatically changed the intergovernmental relations of metropolitan governments. The central government remained with the Motherland Party, but metropolitan and district councils in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir were dominated by Social Democrat candidates. At present, considerable tension exists between the central government and metropolitan governments in Turkey.

Policy Process and Issues

There is not enough experience yet in the Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Istanbul to find out how the policy-making process works in practice or where it

fails. How the legislation stipulates the policy-making process was briefly mentioned above.

In response to the urban problems that caused it to be created, the Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Istanbul has launched a massive policy program aiming at providing urban services. It focuses on water and sanitation, housing, transportation, economic development, and environmental protection. The first step taken by the new metropolitan government was to complete and approve the master plan for the metropolitan area and to prepare regional development and implementation plans. The Golden Horn Environmental Program, which is aimed at protecting the Golden Horn natural ecosystem, is claimed to be one of the most comprehensive environmental projects in the World. The outcomes of these policies remain to be seen. How the metropolitan operates under increasing pressure exerted by the central government will affect the outcomes of these policies.

METROPOLITAN TORONTO

The wilderness and vastness that pervade the view outsiders have of Canada belie an important fact about Canada: it is an urban nation. About 76 per cent of Canadians live in cities. That is one of the highest percantages of urbanization in the world. By 1986, Canada had twenty-eight metropolitan areas with populations of 100,000 or more and, together, these metropolitan areas accounted for 61 per cent of Canada'a population. To put it another way, many Canadians live in places dominated by tall glass office towers, highways, somewhat dense housing complexes and cosmopolitan urban cultures (about one in three Canadians live in metropolitan areas with populations of over a million). When Toronto was 'discovered' in the 1970s and 1980s by the international community, it was surprised that a city existed in Canada, and that it was among the most cosmopolitan in the world.

Indeed, Canada has a long urban history: city building in Canada preceded nation building. When the colonial empires of France and England settled in North America, they founded cities to extend civilization. Quebec City, Montreal, Three Rivers, Halifax, Saint John, and Toronto were all established with elaborate plans. Without these cities and the energy they contained and disseminated, Canada's colonial outposts would not have become a nation.

Canada is a young nation. Governmental structure and authority are based on both the British North America Act of 1867 and unwritten legal custom. It is a federal state with a parliamentary political system. Britain's nominal influence in Canada's constitutional matters ended with the Constitution Act of 1982, which was approved by the Canadian and British parliaments. Supreme political authority rests with Canada's bicameral Parliament, which consists of a Senate and a House of Commons. The leader of the majority party in the House automatically becomes the prime minister. The cabinet, which is appointed by the governor general on the prime minister's advise, remains in power for its term (as long as it maintains majority support in the House). The British monarch, who serves as Canada's symbolic executive, appoints a representative, the governor general, on the advice of the prime minister.

Canada is a federation of 10 provinces and 2 national territories, the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories. The provinces have control over such matters as education, municipal governments, property laws, and natural resources, while responsibility for social welfare and health care is divided between federal and the provincial governments.

Table 2
Key Statistics, Canada

Population (1989)	26, 189,000
Population Projection (2000)	29,110,000
Density	2.8 persons per square kilometer
Urban Population (1986)	75.9%
Ethnic Composition (1983)	British 34.4% French 25.7% German 3.5% Italian 2.8% Ukranian 1.7% Native 1.6% Chinese 1.4% Dutch 1.4% Other 27.5%
Major Metropolitan Areas (1986)	Toronto 3,427,168 Montreal 2,921,357 Vancouver 1,380,729 Ottawa-Hull 819,263 Edmonton 785,465 Calgary 671,326 Winnipeg 625,304 Quebec 603,267 Hamilton 557,029
Gross National Product (1987)	U.S. $15,080 per capita

Canadian federalism has been under considerable pressure in the last two decades, particularly with respect to provincial powers, language and representation of minority groups. With the failure of the ratification of an accord that had been reached at Meech Lake, Quebec, in 1987, the future of Canadian federal system is currently being intensely negotiated among many interest groups and citizens.

The Parliament in Canada does not have any committees relating to municipal affairs since the Constitution specifically assigns such matters to the

provinces. Because of this historical fact (that municipal affairs belong to provinces), a national urban policy or a policy of local government, despite efforts (Commission of Conservation in 1912 and Ministry of State for Urban Affairs in 1976), has never succeeded in Canada. Still, through other policies, notable social and economic, and organizations such as the Canada Housing and Mortgage Corporation (CMHC), federal government exerts considerable influence on metropolitan areas.

Municipal Government in Canada

In 1888, a Royal Commission that inquired into municipal government concluded that Ontario had the best municipal government in the world. It was found simple, efficient and equitable. Was this conclusion patriotic and self-serving? Or was it founded? In fact, when compared with the American and British traditions, from which it derived, municipal government in Ontario is strikingly simple, efficient and equitable.

Municipal government in Ontario, which became a model for other provinces, developed during the colonial period before 1867. When Ontario was settled, the British colonial policy followed a very centralist road and did not allow for decentralization of power. However, it became much harder to govern the colonies from England when an instruction from Whitehall took several months before it reached the colony. Famous Canadian rebellions of 1837 and 1838 were attributed by the British colonial authorities to the lack of local government and triggered the introduction of local government in British North American colonies. The Baldwin Act, as is commonly known, introduced a system of municipal government in Canada in 1849. This legislation was very innovative in many respects and a similar system did not exist elsewhere. It introduced a gradation of municipal powers for different municipal councils (county, city, town, township and village) and it stipulated population criterion to shift from one grade to another. Then such a simple and uniform system existed neither in the United States nor in England and Wales. In both countries, localities were governed by special acts. The Baldwin Act, therefore, was the founding legislation of local government in Canada also of the notion that local government existed for the efficient provision of services. Many commentators have observed that this legislation has stood the test of time remarkably well. Notwithstanding few amendments, it remained intact until today. Another innovative municipal government legislation in 1953, which created the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, was based on the principles of this legislation.

Toronto

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is the largest urban area in Canada with a population of 2.2 million. The central city that gives the name to the metropolitan area was founded in 1793 as a colonial outpost. The town grew quite rapidly and was incorporated in 1834 into a city.

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto was incorporated in 1953 as a metropolitan government by an Act of the Province of Ontario. It is located on the north shore of Lake Ontario and has six area municipalities. The Municipality covers 632 square kilometres extending 40 kilometres along the lake and 16 kilometres inland.

Toronto was the first metropolitan government that was created in North America as a two-tier metropolitan federation of municipalities.

The Metropolitan Toronto area is the centre of an extensive and diverse manufacturing, retailing, transportation and financial system. Most businesses, which provide service on a national basis, such as advertising, accounting, printing and publishing, travel and industrial research are located in the Metropolitan area.

The tasks facing Metropolitan Toronto are mainly social, economic and environmental. Physical services having been made available to the point where development within the Metropolitan area is almost complete, and so an increasing share of urban growth is now taking place beyond the Metropolitan boundaries. The concerns of Metropolitan citizens are turning to the quality of urban life, the stability of neighbourhoods and sustainability of the urban environment. The population of Metropolitan Toronto is multicultural in nature. In 1986, visible minorities accounted for 21 per cent of the Metropolitan population. Of the visible minority population in Metropolitan Toronto, 6.1 per cent is Black, 5.1 per cent is Chinese, 3.6 per cent is Indo-Pakistani, 1.3 per cent is Filipino, and 1.2 per cent is West Asian and Arab.

Government of Metropolitan Toronto

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is a provincially legislated, two-tier form of government, composed of a Metropolitan Council (upper tier) and six area municipal councils (lower tier). The governing principle of the Metropolitan Corporation is that certain services, common to the entire Metropolitan Toronto area, are the responsibility of the Metropolitan Corporation, whereas services of a more local nature are the responsibility of the individual area municipalities.

Metropolitan Structure

The Metropolitan Council is the governing and legislative body for the Municipality. Meeting every second week, Metropolitan Council approves policy and authorizes the raising of revenues and the expending of funds for the provision of services. The 34-member Council is composed of a chairman, directly-elected members, and the mayor of each local area municipality. Except for the six mayors, council members are directly elected to Metropolitan Council. The chairman is selected by Metropolitan Council from amongst the directly-elected members. The Metro Chairman is both the head of the Metropolitan Council and the Chief Executive Officer of the Metropolitan Corporation.

Metro Council is supported in its decision-making process by seven standing committees: Management; Legislation and Licensing; Works; Parks, Recreation and Property; Transportation; Community Services and Housing; and Economic Development and Planning. Standing Committees deal with the policy and programme direction of the operating departments. Members of Council sit on at least two Standing Committees.

The Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) is responsible to Metro Council for the development and implementation of effective and efficient management and administrative systems and policies. The CAO provides budgetary preparation and control, management systems development, personnel co-ordination, and other special assistance to Metro Council and the Metro Chairman. The CAO is also responsible for the general performance of the Treasury, Management Services, and Personnel Departments. In addition, the CAO is responsible for the corporate functions of Multicultural and Race Relations, Cultural Affairs, and Equal Employment Opportunity.

Municipal Powers and Responsibilities

Metropolitan Toronto's two tiers of municipal government both enjoy the responsibilities assigned to municipalities in the Municipal Act. The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act specifies more precisely the powers of the Metropolitan government for services that may be exclusive to the Metropolitan level.

In general, responsibilities are divided between the Metropolitan Corporation and the area municipalities depending on whether the function has been defined as 'area-wide' or 'local' in scope.

The following areas fall within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Corporation:

* metropolitan planning;
* police protection;
* regional roads and expressways;
* public transit;
* solid waste disposal;
* water pollution control;
* water supply;
* ambulance services;
* social services;
* housing for senior citizens;
* regional parks;
* development control.

Examples of areas falling within the jurisdiction of the six area municipalities include:

* city planning and building permits;
* fire protection;
* local streets;
* solid waste collection;
* local and neighbourhood parks;
* local parking lots;
* administration of civic elections;
* collection of property taxes.

The responsibility for most public works and services in Metropolitan Toronto is shared by the Metropolitan Corporation and the individual municipalities. It is in these functions that the real nature and purpose of a municipal federation is best illustrated. For shared duties, the degree to which

the problem is metropolitan or local in scope has determined the division of responsibility. For example, while solid waste disposal is a Metropolitan responsibility, garbage collection is the responsibility of the local area municipalities. Similarly, while water supply is a Metropolitan responsibility, the distribution of water to residents is a responsibility of the local area municipalities.

Financial Framework

The only direct source of taxation that is assigned to municipalities in the Province of Ontario is the general property tax. This source of revenue is supplemented by revenue transfers from the Provincial government as grants and subsidies. The local municipality or lower- tier government has the exclusive right to levy for property taxes. The Metropolitan level of government apportions its cost of operations to the six area municipalities proportionately according to an exactly calculable factor of their individual assessment, and the area municipality taxes its property accordingly and remits the required revenue to the Metropolitan Government. Of the total property taxes raised, 25 per cent is used for local purposes, 25 per cent for Metropolitan services and 50 per cent for education.

In 1989, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto derived 40.7 per cent of its revenue from the property tax that is levied on Metropolitan Toronto's behalf by the area municipalities; 36.3 per cent of its revenue from provincial grants and subsidies; and, 21.4 per cent of its revenue from user fees for transit, water, parks, etc. Of the grants and subsidies from the Provincial government, 20 per cent is unconditional and 80 per cent is received with conditions for spending explicitly stated.

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is required by law to have a balanced budget for annual operating purposes. For capital improvement projects, the Municipality is allowed to borrow. Borrowing may occur in domestic, United States, European or other markets. One of the features of the two-tier Metropolitan government structure in Toronto is that Metropolitan government has sole statutory responsibility for borrowing money by the issuance of debentures for its own account, its local boards and municipal enterprises and for its area municipalities. Where money is borrowed, or debt assumed for other bodies, repayment of the related debt servicing requirements is made by these bodies to the Metropolitan government.

Intergovernmental Relations

The intermediate level of government in Canada is the province. All ten operate with a parliamentary system similar to that of the national government, including Lieutenant-Governors, appointed by the Governor-General, who serve as the Queen's representatives. The Legislature of the Province of Ontario has 125 members elected from districts within the Province for a term not to exceed five years. Although there are no specific committees of the Legislature concerned with municipal government matters, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs is an important branch of government in this regard. Also some provincial bodies such the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) exert important influence on Metropolitan government. Metropolitan Toronto is, therefore, while autonomous in the sense that it makes decisions on the expenditure of public funds and raises taxes to pay for the services it provides, dependent upon the Province of Ontario for its legal authority to make decisions and for many its financial resources.

Like all municipal corporations in the province, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto was created by the Provincial Legislature. The authority of Metropolitan Toronto to undertake any activity is derived from The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act and the Municipal Act, and is composed of a combination of obligatory and permissive laws. The powers specified in both acts can be changed or modified unilaterally by the Provincial Government. However, consultation with municipal government usually occurs and unilateral changes are seldom made.

Metropolitan Toronto has relations with other municipalities than its area municipalities. There are 839 municipal governments in Ontario. Each government has an elected Council and Mayor or Chairman. These municipal governments are represented by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario (AMO). The Association has a membership of some 701 municipal governments throughout Ontario and acts as the collective voice of municipal governments with respect to the provincial government. The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is a member of the Association.

Metropolitan Toronto, like other municipalities in Canada, rarely enters a direct relationship with the Federal Government. But the Federal Government influences Metropolitan Toronto with its sectoral policies and programs (housing, transportation, welfare). Metropolitan Toronto relates to the Federal Government through the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM). It is an organization dedicated to addressing the concerns of municipal government. FCM represents 450 municipal governments and 15 associations.

The major function of the Federation is to represent the common interests of Canadian municipalities to the Government of Canada.

Policy Process and Issues

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto operates on a highly decentralized basis. The 14 departments (which have full-time policy and research staff), and the 12 agencies, boards and commissions are given much autonomy. The principal focus for Corporate policy development rests with the Metropolitan Chairman and the Chief Administrative Officer.

Since party politics is not a dominant feature of the local government structure in Ontario, most of the policy development activity emanates from within each local government jurisdiction.

Major policy challenges that the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto faces are solid waste management, sustainable urban development and improvement of public transit usage.

CONCLUSION

Although Istanbul embarked on metropolitan government recently in 1984, Toronto has had an experience of metropolitan government since 1953. But the differences between Istanbul and Toronto metropolitan governments are greater than these dates suggest. Toronto has had an experience of municipal government since 1834. The Toronto area municipalities also had an experience in municipal government before they were federated under a metropolitan system of government. The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is, therefore, composed of strong municipalities that comprise the metropolitan area. This has important consequences for policy making and implementation.

By contrast, the Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Istanbul was created during reforms in municipal government in Turkey: the District Municipalities are the creation of these legislative reforms of 1984. The Metropolitan Municipality is not a federation of strong municipalities and the Metropolitan Municipality exercises considerable power over district municipalities. This situation, however, may change in time because of the energy shown by District Mayors and because of increasing tension between the metropolitan government and the central government.

On the management of regional urban growth, the two governments face different challenges. Urban growth in Toronto has been occurring mostly in Greater Toronto Area outside metropolitan boundaries. The pressures of growth are felt more in this region than in Metropolitan Toronto. The challenge that the Metropolitan Government faces is to increase the quality of services to its inhabitants. The Metropolitan government in Istanbul faces another situation: most of urban growth occurs within its jurisdiction. It is faced with a formidable challenge of providing services to a rapidly growing urban region.

Another point of contrast between Istanbul and Toronto is with respect to their intergovernmental relations. While the Province of Istanbul is nothing more than an administrative organ of the central government, the Province of Ontario possesses full constitutional authority with regard to municipal government. This difference shows in the policy making process: in Istanbul there is more tension in central-local relations than in Toronto.

Finally, a strong similarity between Istanbul and Toronto concerns the most important policy challenge both cities face, albeit in different forms. It is the challenge of managing urban growth while sustaining the livability of the

urban environment. Istanbul, as it experienced rapid growth without adequate means of government and planning since the 1960s, allowed the deterioration of its beautiful and historical heritage. The successive national governments' response to rapid urban growth by introducing the Bosphorus bridge (with glamour and symbolism) accelerated automobile dependence and gasoline emissions in one of the most sensitive cultural urban environments in the world.

Table 3
Comparison

	Metro Istanbul	Metro Toronto
Population	5,550,908	2,180,853
Area (sq km)	1,630	632
Density (per person sq km)	1,023	6,217
Economic Activity (% of employed workforce)		
Agriculture	6.68	0.28
Industry	41.45	19.27
Construction	9.18	12.36
Public Administration	6.44	5.32
Services	34.15	62.76
Unclassified	2.11	0.00
Area Municipalities	15	6

Toronto is also faced with important issues of solid waste management and gasoline emission. Every year the Metropolitan Area produces significant amount of household solid waste that reached crisis proportions in 1989. And despite having one of the best public transit systems in the world, car ownership and usage remains very high by European standards. These are considerable policy challenges in Istanbul and Toronto.

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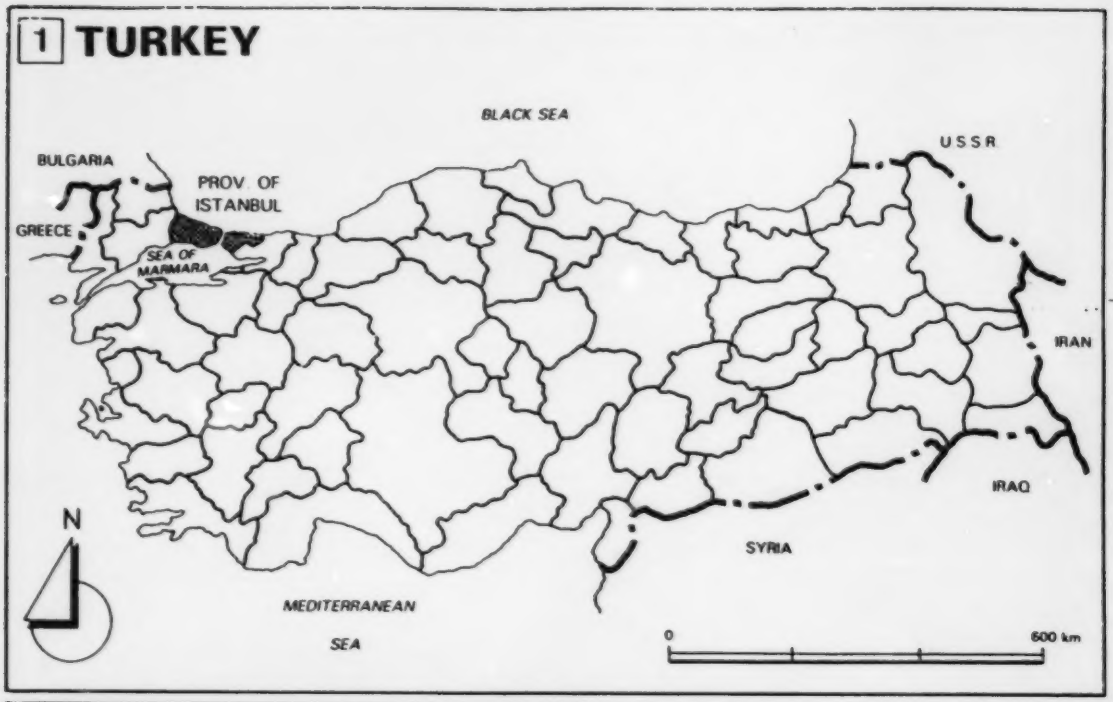
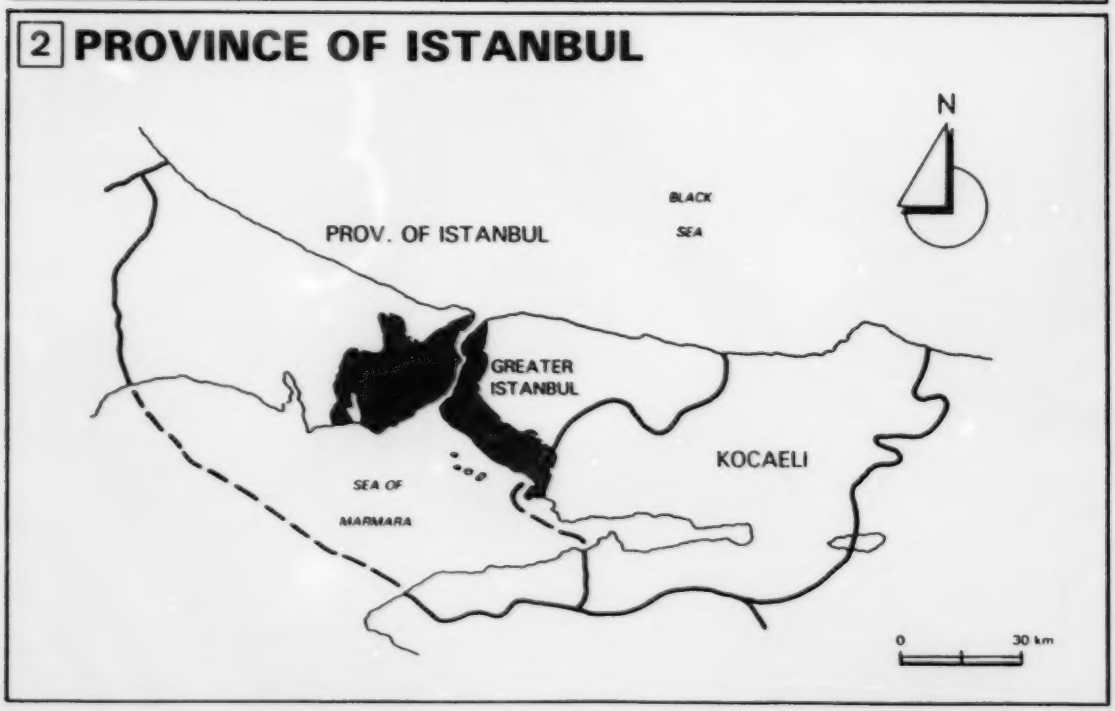
APPENDIX


1 TURKEY
BLACK SEA
USSR
BULGARIA
PROV. OF ISTANBUL
GREECE
SEA OF MARMARA
IRAN
IRAQ
SYRIA
N
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
0
600 km

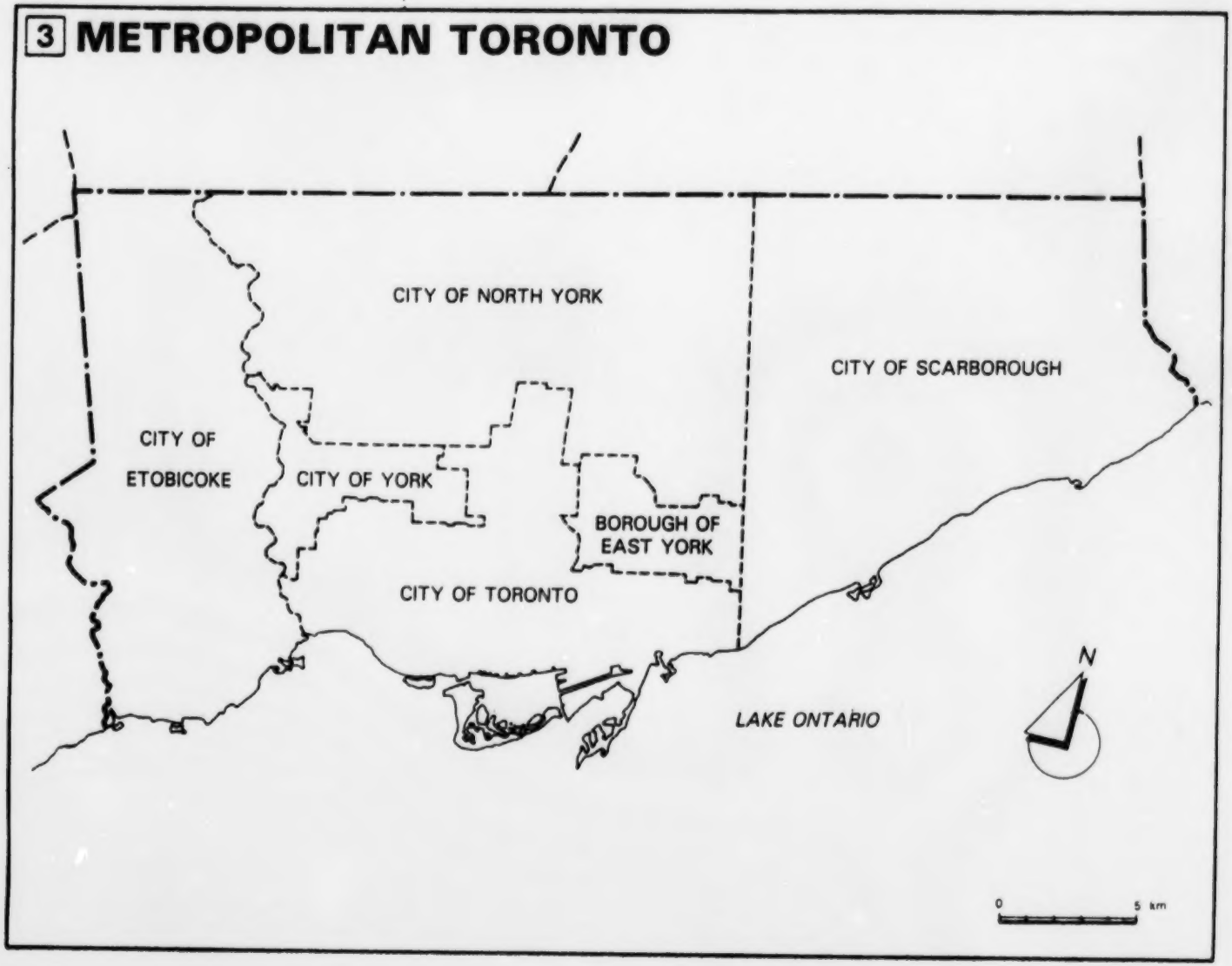

2 PROVINCE OF ISTANBUL
N
BLACK SEA
PROV. OF ISTANBUL
GREATER ISTANBUL
KOCAELI
SEA OF MARMARA
0
30 km

3 MUNICIPALITY OF GREATER ISTANBUL
BLACK SEA
SARIYER
BOSPORUS
BEYKOZ
EYÜP
SISLI
GOS PAŞA
BESIKTAS
BEYOGLU
BAKIRKÖY
Z BURNU
FATIH
EMINONU
USKÜDAR
KADIKOY
SEA OF MARMARA
KARTAL
ADALAR
N
0
5 km

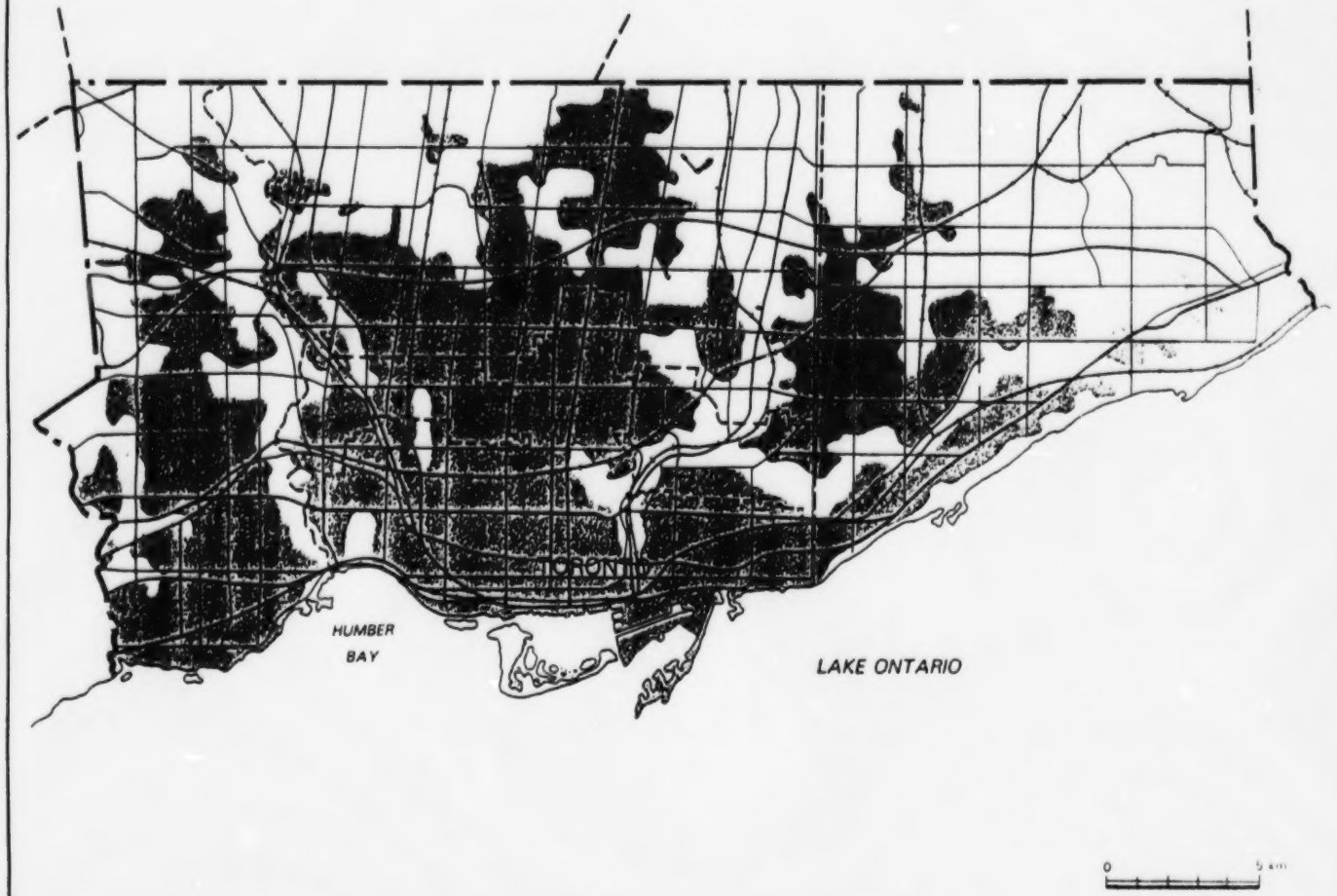
4 MUNICIPALITY OF GREATER ISTANBUL

1 CANADA
N
ALASKA
(USA)
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
HUDSON
BAY
PACIFIC
OCEAN
UNITED STATES
TORONTO
REGION
0
800 km

2 TORONTO REGION
LAKE SIMCOE
TORONTO REGION
LAKE
SCUGOG
METROPOLITAN TORONTO
N
LAKE ONTARIO
0
15 km


3 METROPOLITAN TORONTO
CITY OF NORTH YORK
CITY OF SCARBOROUGH
CITY OF ETOBICOKE
CITY OF YORK
BOROUGH OF EAST YORK
CITY OF TORONTO
LAKE ONTARIO
N
0
5 km

4 METROPOLITAN TORONTO



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